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ABSTRACT

An exploratory study was conducted to determine the types of nonformal educational programs and activities for youth being offered by profit making agencies in Los Angeles, California, in 1982. From a list compiled from the yellow pages of the Los Angeles telephone directory, 76 agencies were selected for study. Telephone interviews with agency representatives revealed that: (1) most of the activities offered seemed to require individual participation and emphasize skills (as opposed to emphasis on group participation and development of values and attitudes by nonprofit oriented educational agencies); (2) the most frequently represented category of programs was the arts, followed by personal growth and development, and then by sports; (3) agencies associated training of teachers more frequently with years of experience than with professional training or licenses; and (4) most programs indicated that they catered to all social classes. Other information collected included prerequisites for participation; costs of instruction; number of years the agency had been operating; reasons for participation in programs; and reasons for participants' success. The findings seemed to suggest that profit making agencies that offer nonformal learning activities for youth are genuinely interested in advancing children's welfare rather than in simply making a financial profit. (MJL)

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# Nonformal Education for Children and Youth

## A Private for Profit Sector Inquiry[1]

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During the last decade in the United States, educators and social scientists interested in childhood socialization have begun to assess the contribution of organized, systematic teaching carried on outside of both the family and the formal, usually chronologically graded and hierarchically structured, school system. Referred to by many as nonformal education, such programs are intended to provide particular types of learning to specific populations (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974). Two major types of nonformal education programs for children have been proposed for discussion purposes (La Belle 1981). These are private and public nonprofit programs and private for profit programs. This article introduces nonformal education for children in the U.S. through a discussion of both of these program types. It then reports on a preliminary telephone survey of private for profit programs undertaken in Los Angeles in the Spring and Summer of 1982.

The importance of including nonformal education in the study of childhood socialization rests with its potential contribution to the learning of specific knowledge, skills, feelings and desires considered culturally appropriate to a person of a particular sex, age and social group. Such learning may complement, supplement or conflict with what goes on in families and schools, but whatever its impact, we believe that it should be acknowledged when the interaction of children with those who seek to influence them is studied. This is a similar position to that taken by Cremin (1976) when he points to the educational activities of multiple institutions as "configurations of education" in contemporary society. It is also similar to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) attention to the ecology of human development through the accommodations made by individual settings and contexts in the human development process.

Because most schools, nonformal programs and families are likely to differ in their goals and the ways in which they relate to children, it is worthwhile to analytically separate them one from another. Schools, for example, are typically sanctioned by the state and nation, even if sponsored privately, and are usually characterized by certified teachers, compulsory attendance, and centrally approved curricula. Nonformal programs can be sponsored by the state or nation but typically they are characterized by private for profit, religious, or other community interest group, voluntary and/or noncertified teachers, and greater flexibility in designing the experiences that are engaged in by children. Families constitute the third and probably most important childhood educational influence, and the one which most often determines which nonformal programs, and sometimes which schools, children will attend.

In this triad of school, nonformal and family influences, nonformal education constitutes a potentially important resource for individuals who seek particular instructional experiences that go beyond what schools and families are able or willing to offer. For some, it presents opportunities to engage in studies introduced but not pursued, or simply not included, in the school curriculum. Such activities include a range of offerings, from the use of microcomputers to gymnastics or art and music. For others, nonformal education provides an avenue to extend particular family values and philosophies, from religious instruction to, for example, special ethnic or racial identities or political parties. Most of these nonformal education activities appear to have the potential of being categorized into two major and several minor categories.

The first of the two major categories includes private and public

nonprofit programs. Included here are a wide variety of ethno-religious and political socialization activities, along with youth clubs and sports and recreation programs. The ethno-religious programs, such as the Catholic Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD) classes and Jewish day schools, for example, are usually offered after school or on weekends, with the structure and content of the lessons often transcending national boundaries while the programs are tied to particular community interests. In the United States, with the exception of the Mormons, attendance at most ethno-religious programs sponsored by Catholic, Jewish and Presbyterian organizations have been declining by as much as 50% in the past 15 years (La Belle 1981). Nevertheless, in a study of how 764 sixth grade youngsters in 20 Oakland, California, communities spend their time outside of school, Medrich, et.al. (1982), found that religious instruction and church related activities still totalled 13% of all organized activities, with 19% of the boys and 22% of the girls participating.

The nonformal political socialization programs are sometimes associated with particular ethno-religious groups. An example would be group alignments in Northern Ireland where children learn through church and political action groups what it means to be a Catholic or a Prostestant. Additionally, such programs may be tied to groups that may prefer to remain somewhat underground, such as the Ku Klux Klan in the United States, or particular revolutionary groups seeking to overthrow a government as has occurred in Iran and Nicaragua. Youth may also model the mainstream adults in society by initiating junior versions of recognized and legitimate political parties, as with the Young Democrats or Young Republicans, in the United States.

Apart from ethno-religious and political socialization activities are many youth group programs sponsored by public and private nonprofit organizations. Some are nationally chartered by Congress, like the Girl and Boy Scouts, while others are locally initiated and administered, often times through Municipal Parks Departments. Most of these programs arose from a long history of concern for moral development and for such values as physical fitness, competition, conformity, citizenship, independence and so on. Like their ethno-religious counterparts, youth groups experienced dramatic declines in their membership beginnning in the 1960s. Nevertheless, in total numbers, the Boy and Girls Scouts, YMCA and YWCA, Boy's and Girl's Clubs, Salvation Army, Campfire, and 4-H register annually approximately one third of the eligible school age youngsters in the United States. Most of these organizations are sex linked, serve white middle or higher socio-economic status youngsters, and derive their philosophy, curriculum and leadership from national offices (La Belle 1981).

A third and final type of public and private nonprofit nonformal education program involves sports and recreation. Traditionally, these programs have served boys, but recently girls have increased dramatically in their participation rates. Many sponsors are involved in these sports activities, from national organizations like Little League Baseball, Pop Warner Football and American Youth Soccer (AYSO) to locally operated programs associated with municipal playgrounds and parks. These programs are said to develop such attributes as sportsmanship, teamwork, self reliance, self discipline and character and are frequented by the largest percentage of youngsters among all nonformal activities for children in this country. Medrich, et.al. (1982) report that 71% of the boys and 47% of the girls in their Oakland sample took part in at least one sports program after school

during the academic year. Further, sports accounted for 41% of all lessons and group activities and 34% of all extra curricular school activities for the Oakland sample during that year. These high participation rates reflect the national estimates availaable which indicate that non school sports programs register 17 million children annually.

Apart from the three types of nonprofit programs is the second major category of nonformal education sponsored by profit making individuals or organizations. In the United States these include summer and vacation camps; some preschool and day-care programs; after school clubs; music and artistic instruction; tutoring and counseling services; apprenticeship training; and, of course, various forms of media, including books, magazines, radio, and television. Television viewing in the United States outdistances by far the other activities engaged in by children. To put this television time into perspective Medrich, et.al. (1982) report that children spend 11,000 hours in the classroom, 15,000 hours viewing television and some 50,000 other hours outside of the classroom by the time they finish high school.

Although only a portion of the average 22-28 hours a week that are spent by North American youth viewing television (Comstock 1978) can be labelled as nonformal education (see La Belle 1981), it is clear that television occupies the majority of most youngster's time outside of school. While a great deal is known about which age groups, social classes, and sexes watch television and when they do their watching, we know little about most of the other profit making programs in which youngsters participate. This lack of knowledge is due partly to the nature of the sponsoring individuals and agencies involved, as they vary from the

neighbor who teaches a youngster to play a musical instrument to the commercial establishments that offer courses to many individuals in several locations or through correspondence.

In an attempt to learn more about nonformal education for children in the profit sector, we designed an exploratory investigation. Initially, several urban and suburban areas in the United States were selected and a self-report questionnaire to be distributed by mail to a random sample of programs identified through local telephone books was designed. A local pilot investigation resulted in a low questionnaire return rate which we believed was a result of suspicion among private businesses toward outside inquiries. We changed the data collection strategy by adopting a telephone interview schedule and due to scarce resources we narrowed the scope of the research to include only Los Angeles.

The Sample

Constructing a sampling frame, that is, a list of all population members, required identifying one or more sources that could be used to compile a list of names and telephone numbers of all private for for-profit programs for youth. No single source or set of sources could be located that would provide names and telephone numbers of private for profit youth programs exclusive of private for profit programs for adults and nonprofit programs for all ages.

To secure our sample, we turned to the Los Angeles Consumer Yellow Pages of the Pacific Telephone Company, August, 1982. The directory index was used to compile a list of 53 directory headings which listed a total of

1238 agencies. Headings were selected if they even remotely suggested that educational programs for youth might be found within the listings (e.g., hypnotism, reducing and weight control). Thus, the sampling frame constructed was actually of a population larger than the population of interest since the selection strategy allowed the inclusion of private for profit and non profit programs for all ages.

We systematically selected a 15% sample of 1238 programs which produced 195 cases representing 53 directory headings. Fifty-one cases had to be dropped from the analysis. Twenty-three represented two headings, alcohol/drug rehabilitation and camps, both of which presented special problems[1], while the other 28 cases dropped represented 17 directory headings and were eliminated because they did not offer programs for youth[2]. Excluding these cases reduced the sample size to 144 which represented a 15% sample of 34 directory headings with a total of 943 listings.

## The Interview Schedule

A telephone interview schedule was designed around several themes including how children are selected and participate in programs, the nature of the instruction given, the organization's personnel and structure, cost of participation and the availability of literature about the program. The schedule was piloted and revised several times using randomly selected non-sampled agencies. The schedule was finally reduced in length and revised in format so that it could be administered in less than 15 minutes. The piloting of the schedule indicated that to collect meaningful information about programs we would have to solicit information specific to particular sex and age categories. Because the most common sex and age related issues

raised were the physical and mental maturity attained by a child, it was decided to secure program information for two children, a boy 8 years old and a girl 14 years old. The ages were selected because of the desire to have one young pre-pubescent child and an adolescent, while sex was assigned arbitrarily.

The telephone interviews, both in the pilot and data collection phases were conducted by a male and female graduate student who, for purposes of the interviews, assumed the roles of caring, close relatives who were also professional educators. The close relative role was adopted to allow the interviewer a familiarity with a range of child associations, from parenttype knowledge to absolute ignorance about the child should such flexibility become desirable in the course of an interview. The only exceptions to this close-relative role for interviewers occurred when medical and drug related programs were contacted and the assumption of a close-relative role was abandoned. Each interviewer interviewed approximately one-half the cases during regular business hours. In non-response cases, additional calls were made during the evening and on weekends to increase the response rate. After six attempts were made to a non-responding case, it was assumed that the organization was out-of-business. All cases were requested to mail literature on the program if it was available.

Results

Table 1 presents the directory headings of program types and the number of agencies sampled. The population column shows the number of listings found under each directory heading and the sample column shows the number of cases selected from each heading. The number of complete ques-

tionnaires column shows the number of telephone interviews which resulted in questionnaires being completed for each directory heading. The notes column refers the reader to an explanation of differences between the number of cases in the sample column and the number of completed questionnaires.

Of the 144 programs sampled, 30 failed to answer the phone after several calls were placed or for some reason could not be contacted. It was assumed that these programs were no longer in business. In addition to the 28 cases representing 17 directory headings mentioned earlier (see note 2), 24 programs were identified that did not enroll youth. These programs, however, were within directory headings where at least one program for youth could be found. These reductions resulted in a sample of 89 programs that were willing and able to provide answers to questionnaire items. Fourteen programs were either unable to or would not provide answers to questionnaire items. Thus, if we think of the effective sample size as the number of cases that could conceivably offer programs for youth the effective response return rate was 76 out of 89 or 85%[3].

The directory headings presented in Table 1 provide insight into the wide variety of nonformal learning activities offered to youth for payment. A review of these offerings prompt several observations. For example, nearly all of the activities appear to require individual as opposed to group participation. Thus, it is common to expect that special instruction for individual sports like tennis, swimming and bowling will be paid for but such instruction for team sports like basketball, football, or baseball will be learned informally or through nonprofit youth groups. The same can be said for the other activities, from tutorials to music lessons,

as nearly all of them involve highly individualistic pursuits, usually requiring physical engagement, which are not dependent on cooperation or group participation. When asked about group size over 50% of respondents reported a group size of 1 while those that reported large group sizes (e.g., fencing 20, karate 18, dance 11) were quick to include statements assuring that individual attention is paid to each participant.

A second observation based on the directory headings relates to the number of specific agencies listed under each heading. Because 76% of the interviewed agencies offer programs for both youth and adults it is difficult to determine the extent to which youth demand can be used to explain why more of some agencies exist than others. Only 17 programs were identified that cater exclusively to youth, 7 sports programs, 6 related to personal development and cognitive growth and 4 that promote artistic interests. Looking at the number of agencies existing within each heading we find reducing and weight control, music and dance are most frequent, followed by language schools, hypnotism, dramatic instruction and karate. Tutoring, bowling, reading improvement, art instruction and personal development then follow. If categories of directory headings by numbers of agencies are derived, several patterns emerge. For example, the most frequently represented category is strongly associated with the arts (e.g, art, dance, music, dramatic instruction) while the second category is related to personal growth and development (e.g., personal development, tutoring, language schools, reducing and weight control) and the third is associated with sports (e.g., bowling, skating, tennis, gymnastics). Although most of these categories of program types are offered through both schools and nonprofit nonformal programs, the number of profit making agencies in existence suggests that qualitatively or quantitatively there

are enough individuals seeking these kinds of experiences to support such offerings.

Table 1

Nonformal Programs for Youth Offered by Profit Making Agencies
Los Angeles 1982

| Directory Headings | Number in Telephone Directory | Number in Sample | Number of Completed Interviews | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Art Instruction | 28 | 4 | 1 | 1, 2, 3 |
| Balloons | 9 | 2 | 2 | |
| Boating | 7 | 1 | 1 | |
| Bowling | 34 | 6 | 4 | 1, 3 |
| Bridge | 9 | 1 | 1 | |
| Calligraphy | 10 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Chess | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| Dance | 101 | 16 | 8 | 1, 2 |
| Dog Training | 13 | 1 | 1 | |
| Dramatic Instruction | 60 | 8 | 1 | 1, 2 |
| Dressmaking Schools | 5 | 1 | 1 | |
| Fencing | 5 | 1 | 1 | |
| Golf | 7 | 2 | 2 | |
| Gymnastics | 11 | 2 | 2 | |
| Hang Gliders | 4 | 1 | 1 | |
| Flower Arranging | 4 | 1 | 1 | |
| Horse Training | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| Hypnotism | 69 | 10 | 2 | 1, 3 |
| Karate | 56 | 8 | 6 | 1, 2 |
| Knitting | 7 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Language Schools | 87 | 13 | 5 | 1, 2, 3 |
| Modeling Schools | 18 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Music | 118 | 17 | 9 | 1, 2, 3 |
| Personal Development | 23 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| Public Speaking | 9 | 1 | 1 | |
| Reading Improvement | 29 | 4 | 1 | 1, 2, 3 |
| Reducing/Weight Control | 125 | 18 | 8 | 1, 2, 3 |
| Riding | 7 | 1 | 1 | |
| Scuba Diving | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| Skating | 10 | 1 | 1 | |
| Skiing | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| Swimming | 9 | 1 | 1 | |
| Tennis | 17 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Tutoring | 45 | 6 | 4 | 1, 3 |
| Totals | 943 | 144 | 76 | |

The following notes are provided to explain differences between the number of agencies sampled in each heading (sample column) and the number of completed questionnaires collected from the sample cases.

1. Never answered (at least 6 attempts were made) telephone or number disconnected and no new number given.
2. The program(s) offered is (are) for adults only.

3. Either could not provide information (e.g., program does not have instructional component) or would not provide information (e.g., must come in and see what is offered.)

The number and training of the individuals employed by agencies adds additional insight to the nature of these businesses. Fifty-six of 67 (84%) claimed to use only one full time teacher in their programs, less than 6% used more than 2. Interpretation of these data is risky at best since some agency representatives were probably referring to the number of full time teachers in a particular program while others were referring to their entire staff. Three agencies reported more than 3 full time teachers: personal development 6, public speaking 8 and dance 7. It is interesting that personal development and public speaking are characterized by extreme values on several other variables[4]. The personal development program demands 59 hours of participation in an eight day period and reported a group size of between 15 and 50. The entire program lasts six weekday evenings, Monday through Monday, and all day the intervening Saturday and Sunday. The program boasts marvelous success at teaching people how to master their lives and putting them in touch with their sources of energy. The program, they claim, is suitable for a 14 year old. The public speaking program usually handles corporate executives and other business men and women at a cost of $45.00 per hour and claim that their services are suitable for an 8 or 14 year old.

Responses to the question on training of teachers or facilitators typically referred to years of experience rather than academic or professional degrees and licenses. The major exceptions were in the reducing and weight control and tutoring headings where medical degrees and professional teaching certificates were almost universally cited. An additional characteristic related to the nature of these agencies delivering educational services was their need to be licensed or certified by some outside organization.

When asked what licenses or accreditation individual programs held, only 15% claimed to possess any externally derived certification and most were among reducing and weight control agencies where medical certification adds important credibility to the program. When asked to identify references to speak on behalf of the program offered, only 12% were willing to identify persons to do so.

Each agency representative was asked to characterize the participation of youth in its program. Among our questions was an attempt to secure some insight into the social class and ethnic background of participants by claiming to be interested in having our youth in contact with a mix of other children. Attempts made to probe as to the composition of the agencies clientele, however, was awkward and generally unsuccessful. In cases where group size was greater than 1, probes reflecting our interest in the probability of intragroup socializing made more sense and received a response. Sixty-six percent of the agencies responding claimed that along with majority White children, Blacks and/or Chicanos also participated. Additionally, most programs indicated that they serve children from all social classes. Hence, while we were unable to adequately test the assumption that most for profit programs cater to middle and upper class youngsters, we believe that each directory heading, and perhaps each agency, must be looked at more closely to determine the social groups served.

This need for more focused study supports the findings of the Medrich, et.al. (1982) investigation of out-of-school activities of sixth grade children in Oakland. For example, they found dance programs to be almost exclusively used by girls, mostly non-White from middle and low income neighborhoods,while they found music participation to be used equally by

boys and girls, mostly White and mostly from high income families and neighborhoods. In general, the Oakland study found that children who took lessons as opposed to those who participated in groups were from high socio-economic backgrounds and were predominantly White. Likewise, high income White and Asian children were more likely than others to have used private fee charging programs than public ones.

Apart from the social class and ethnic background of the participating youth, we were interested in learning about the selection of youth to enter programs, specifically the need to satisfy prerequisites. In 76% of the cases no prerequisites, other than expressed interest by the individual were required. The exception, of course, was the case when an individual was interested in participating in an advanced stage of a particular activity, for example, dance, language, or music programs which offer training at progressively more advanced levels and require a minimum of experience or study level be attained before admittance into the program. We restricted our inquiry to prerequisites for youth with no previous experience. Sixteen percent of the agencies schedule interviews with prospective clients for various reasons. Reducing and weight control did so, for example, to determine if the youth was truly in need of medical help, tutoring and language programs to assess the youth's mastery of the subject matter for placement purposes, and modeling to evaluate the youth's physical qualities and potential as a model. In less than 3% of the cases did interested youth have to have some previous experience (e.g., calligraphy, modeling) and the remaining 5% a combination of interest, skill and an interview (e.g., dance, music).

The cost per hour and number of hours of instruction per week ranged

from $0 to $200 and from 15 minutes to 48[4] hours respectively and varied greatly by program type. Values reported on three variables were significantly correlated (-.36) giving evidence of a moderate inverse relationship suggestive of price discounts for quantity purchases of program time. Many agency representatives did make known the availability of family discounts and block purchases of lessons at reduced rates. Cost per hour was also significantly and inversely related to group size (-.56) supporting the notion that private instruction is least costly as less individual attention is given and group instruction becomes predominate. For example, one dance program charges $6.00 per hour at a group size of about 5 while another charges $4.00 per hour with 11 in a group. In two cases, a bowling and knitting program, agencies offered instruction for free. The bowling was offered free of charge to youth willing to join the league apparently as a way of introducing them to the sport and attracting neighborhood attention to the bowling alley. The knitting program required all materials used be purchased from the proprietor and donated the cost of instruction.

The average cost of instruction per hour was $12.62 and the average number of hours per week spent was 1.8 hours making the parents' expected weekly payment almost $23.00 per child. Two patterns emerge to explain cost differences among program types. The previously mentioned group size influence becomes evident when examining program types distributed by cost per hour as most programs accommodating large groups are found at the inexpensive end of the cost per hour scale (e.g., golf 12, fencing 20, karate 18), and programs with small group sizes (e.g., music 1, reducing and weight control 1, tutoring 1) are at the expensive end. A second pattern that emerges relates to the difference between program categories found at

these extremes. Inexpensive, large group programs are commonly associated with sports programs while expensive, small group programs concentrate on enhancing individual social, artistic, and intellectual abilities. Given, however, that group size is correlated with cost per hour it can be expected to account for much of the variation in cost per hour. Regressing cost per hour on group size results in an $R^2$ of .31 which represents the amount of variation in cost per hour accounted for by group size. The regression beta estimate of -1.31 indicates that increasing group size by 1 person reduces cost per hour by $1.31. Additional fees beyond those for instruction, including proper clothing, equipment, and in some cases registration fees were also borne by the participant.

Data collected from interviewed agencies on number of years in business show that most are long standing businesses in the Los Angeles area and hence have had an opportunity to build a clientele. Years in business ranged from 6 months to 99 years with 20 as the most frequently given response. Considering 10 years as an arbitrary cutoff between fledgling and established businesses, approximately 70% of those interviewed are stable and presumably prosperous. This longevity is likely associated with the fact that most of the programs are locally owned and operated rather than part of larger corporate networks. Only three programs, a karate, reducing and weight control, and a tutoring program reported affiliation with a parent corporation, and less than 9% of those interviewed offered programs at more than one location. During the course of several interviews respondents asked interviewers why they happened to be called. When told they had been chosen from the Yellow Pages, a few seemed surprised. The inference made was that most agencies receive clients through family contact, for example, word-of-mouth among relatives of participants and friends of

friends, rather than the more impersonal Telephone Directory. If such is the case, a long and well established network may outweigh the merits commonly associated with corporate membership such as extensive advertising and strong financial backing. The hypothesized reliance on personal communication and network support also suggests that most clients can be found living near the agency's program center. In fact, several agencies were extremely reluctant to answer questions when they were told that the caller lived in a different neighborhood. And most even offered names and telephone numbers of similar programs nearer to the caller.

The agency representatives were also asked to provide reasons why they thought children joined the program and why they thought parents wished their child would join a program. The four most frequently mentioned reasons why children were thought to want to participate was because they wanted social contact with other children, because they wanted to develop psychologically or emotionally as individuals, because they desired to enhance their physical growth and development, and because they desired to learn more about a particular subject, especially the arts and music. With slight variation, the same reasons were provided by agencies to explain why parents wished their children would participate in such programs. Interestingly, these reasons tend to parallel the assumed emphasis placed on socio-emotional development among youth groups and sports programs in the non profit sector. Further, although it might be assumed that youngsters join because of a desire to learn a skill or because parents and/or peers encourage them to participate, such reasons were less frequently mentioned.

When asked what reasons accounted for the success of children in a program, 85% of the agency representatives mentioned the child's attitude

first and the child's skill level second. Although these responses may appear to contradict the earlier statement that no prerequisites were needed for most programs, the implication here is more the need for commitment and agility of an individual rather than prior training or experience.

With regard to sex only one program was not open to boys and girls, a weight reducing program available to women only. As for age, 20 (27%) of the agencies offered programs that were not suitable for the 8 year old but were appropriate for the 14 year old. Fifty-four (73%) of the agencies offered programs that could be joined by children of either age. The most frequent objection to younger children was their lack of maturity and because of it the unlikeliness of their success in the program.

## Conclusion

This modest inquiry into children's nonformal education for profit has enabled us to initiate a map of this type of nonformal education offering in one city. As a result, we now know somewhat more about the types of programs offered. Beyond this result, most of our conclusions are tentative and speculative as they are based on what was told us by agency representatives rather than parents and children and they are based on telephone interviews rather than observations or other methods of data collection.

Among these tentative conclusions is our impression that agency representatives have a genuine desire to advance the welfare of children rather than simply make a financial profit. We learned this primarily through regularly being referred to other programs more appropriate to the children we described. In effect, there was a reluctance on the part of many agen-

cies to enroll a child for whom a program might be inappropriate. Perhaps this child-centered characteristic helps to explain why many of the programs have also been in existence for a relatively long period of time and why we sense that the sector is rather stable.

Another impression is that the characteristics of this sector are somewhat distinct from the bulk of non-profit nonformal education programs for children. The profit sector, for example, emphasizes primarily individual activity with an emphasis on particular skills while the non-profit sector attends to more group activity and is often more concerned with attitudes and values. Likewise, in the profit sector children are taught as students whereas in the non-profit sector, especially in youth groups like scouts or 4-H, there is often more involvement by children in creating their own learning opportunities. Both types of nonformal education, however, tend to emphasize "learning by doing" and appear to do this to a greater extent than is characteristic of most classroom learning in schools.

Further justaposing these programs against schools offers other impressions. For example, both the arts and personal growth and development are the nonformal for profit categories of programs most frequently offered. We wonder whether the numerical frequency of these types of programs suggests that schools don't do enough in these areas to satisfy a large number of students or that schools initiate activity which only the private sector can carry on. The juxtaposition also raises other issues. For example, the nonformal education sector appears to make little out of the qualifications of teachers whereas schools tend to build their reputation on them. Is it the nature of the educational experience -- the subject matter --

that permits individuals to assume teaching roles without credentials in nonformal education or does the reputation of individuals working with voluntary clients in nonformal programs explain the viability of the teacher's non-certified status?

While other speculative issues can be raised, it is clear that we are only beginning to investigate what is perhaps the very oldest type of educational program. It is obvious that some people in all societies have been willing to pay for special educational services for youngsters like those mentioned here. It is also obvious that most professional educators have sometimes inadvertently and most times purposely avoided recognizing such services as potentially important for child socialization and development. The truth appears to be, however, that we know little about such programs. What we do know is that children need to develop among others, physical, intellectual and self management skills to become coping adults and that a variety of experiences are needed to foster them. Our view is that it would be worthwhile to learn more about how this sphere of activity -- known to children, and sometimes parents -- but of little concern to others, affects these outcomes. Hopefully, this is a step in that direction.

## Footnotes

1. We are indebted to Rosalind Latner for her assistance with data collection.

2. Seventeen cases were sampled from the 120 listings under the Alcohol and Drug Rehabilitation directory heading. Of these, 13 offered programs for adults only, two offered programs for children and adults and two offered programs for children only. In each of the 4 cases where programs for youth were available the organization did not operate on a private for profit basis. All were nonprofit groups who received financial assistance from government and/or private sources and most often had youth clients referred to them in compliance with a court order.

The fact that Alcohol and Drug Rehabilitation Centers apparently cannot operate on a profit making basis may be due to either child and parent inability to recognize an existing problem or, although recognized, their un-

willingness to admit to a problem and seek professional help. Without the aid of judicial (or social) coercion few programs would exist even in the nonprofit sector.

Data collected on cases within the camps directory heading were excluded from the analysis for two reasons: 1) few data were collected as it was well into the summer when the telephone calls were made and most camps were winding down, hence, not too interested in potential new customers, and 2) camps represent an amalgamation of activities which makes it a directory heading quite different than the other headings which represent discrete activities like art instructio, dance, or swimming.

Data collected on camps could not be parceled so that cost or time commitment amounts, for example, could be attributed to individual activities. Thus $400 for two weeks of camp tells us nothing about how much time was spent learning arts and crafts or tennis nor does it give us any ideas about the relative costs of each activity.

3. Seventeen directory headings (astrology, beauty culture, cake decorating, ceramics, cooking schools, correspondence, marine navigation, massage, meditation, memory improvement, photography, radio and TV broadcasting, sewing instruction, sleep teaching, rifle range, parachute jumping, and yoga) were found not to include programs for youth as reported by the cases sampled. However, this does not mean programs for youth do not exist under these headings as non sampled listings might offer programs for youth. This result also reflects the selection criterion used to include directory headings which prescribed inclusion rather than exclusion if in doubt as to whether or not programs for youth might be found under a particular heading.

4. It was expected that this return rate would be high since these programs operate on a profit making basis and as such they would make an effort to provide the caller with requested information and at least cooperate by answering the caller's questions. In more cases than expected this did not occur, however, and instead of answering questions the caller was urged to "come in and see what goes on", as if to say that is the only way you will be able to understand what we have to offer youth. Other program representatives simply were not interested in talking or didn't really have the requisite knowledge to answer any questions.

5. Extreme values for several variables are reported in the text but were not used in the calculation of any statistics. They are cost per hour $90 and $200, hours per week 48, years in business 99, and group size 50.

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